1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

wrapped about their waists so that their arms were held far out from their sides. Six men carried a huge bundle of tapa and mats by means of three long poles. Eight women carried a huge mat, probably 12 feet wide and 40 feet long. The procession moved slowly and was bound to the house of George Kupu, who was married the day before.)

Then a kava circle composed of relatives was formed, the bridegroom presiding, the bride seated at his left, each of them seated upon the lap of either of their two officiating *fae*, the bride usually sitting on the lap of her male *fae*.

Only one bowl of kava was served. Following that came the distribution of the presents (*vahevahe*). The *ngaue* was first distributed among the assembled relatives of the bridegroom. The bride's relatives later received their share of the bridegroom's present to her people, at the hands of the bride's father or other officiating family representative. In this distribution of food the ranking members of the consanguinary group received the best parts, and so on in ranking order. If there was not enough to go around, the lesser representatives of the group went without, or the bridegroom's father might feel it his duty to supply food for these from his own oven.

Then the *koloa* was divided into two equal parts and distributed, but not until the bridegroom had selected in proportion to the amount a number of articles to be used in his own house. The bride also chose a like share of the man's presents to her people. In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity. In accomplishing this return, the distributor often stripped his own house of all its possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than his material property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.[5]

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.

Throughout an entire marriage ceremony, the bridegroom's father, or nearest paternal relative if the father were dead, was vested with peculiar authority. This office is said to have had no name. He was the proper one to announce the date on which the ceremony should begin. He denied the bridegroom the privilege of consorting with the bride until an appointed time. On the first night (third night?) after the exchange of gifts, he instructed the bridegroom to test the bride with his finger to determine if she were a virgin. This testing was called *mohekehe*. If her virginity was confirmed, this man stated the period of time that must elapse before the bride and bridegroom might live together as man and wife, anywhere from three days to two months, the length of the period of continence being in direct ratio to the bridegroom's social rank. A *tuo* slept with his wife on the first night.

The specific night on which cohabitation took place was definitely determined by the progress of all preparations. The presents had to be apportioned, food for the following feast had to be ready, and minor details of preparation had to be attended to. Near the end of the prescribed tapu period, the father determined through his wife when all preparations would be complete. He then informed the bridegroom that the night was at

[5] Suggestive of the potlatch system of the north Pacific coast of America.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto.

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.)

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear.

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out.

Men shave the hair from the legs.

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans.

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*paa*), also wear the hair quite short.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

pany by wrestling with one another. The king and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were already seated in the house, viewing what was going forward. The company being, at length, all arrived, and having seated themselves, the king gave notice that the ceremony was to begin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those who prided themselves in their strength, then got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry off the largest hog: when one failed, another tried; then a third, and so on, till every one that chose had made a trial of his strength. To carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy to be done, on account of its greasiness as well as its weight; but it affords a considerable share of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver. They were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's *malái*, where the men waited till the other hogs were brought. In the mean time the trial was going on with the second hog, which being also found too heavy for one man, was carried away by two in like manner; and so on with the third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away first, and the least last. The second, third, fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

as being a nearer counterbalance with a man's strength. Sometimes he had got it nearly upon his shoulder, when his greasy burden slipped through his arms, and, in his endeavour to save it, brought him down after it. It is an honour to attempt these things, and even the king, sometimes, puts his hand to it*. The small hogs and pigs afforded no diversion, as they were easily lifted and carried away, each by one man, and deposited, not at the outside of Tooitonga's *malái* along with the largest hogs, but carried at once into it, where the cars of yams were also dragged one at a time. When every thing was thus cleared from the king's *malái*, the company got up and proceeded to the other, where they again seated themselves, whilst Tooitonga presided, and the king and his chiefs, out of respect, sat on the outside of the ring among the great body of the people. The large hogs which had been deposited in the neighbourhood of this *malái* were now to be brought in, each by one man, and, as it had been found that one man's strength was not sufficient to raise any of them upon his shoulders, two others were allowed to lift the hog and place it upon his shoulders for him, and then he tottered in with his load, followed by another

* Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, they are a very cleanly people.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

262 796 766 784 765 482 man with the liver; and in this manner all the hogs and their livers were carried in and deposited in two or three rows before Tooitonga. Their number was then counted by the head cooks of Tooitonga and Finow, and announced aloud to Tooitonga by his own head cook; the number of cars and piles of yams was also announced at the same time.

This being done, about twenty of the largest hogs were carried to Tooitonga's burying-place, nearly an hundred yards distant: those which were too heavy for one man to lift being put upon his shoulders by two others, &c., as before, and deposited near the grave; one car of yams was also taken and left in like manner.

262 796 766 784 765 This portion of pork and yam being disposed of, the remainder was shared out in the following manner: one column of yams was allotted to the king, to be removed in the afternoon, and to be disposed of as he pleased: (he always shares it among his chiefs and fighting men:) another column was allotted to Veachi* and two or three other chiefs: the third was given to the gods; (the priests always take care of this portion;) and the fourth Tooitonga claimed for his own share. As to the cars of yams, they

[565] [643] [776] * Veachi, like Tooitonga, is a divine chief, that is descended from a god; he is, however, inferior to Tooitonga, but higher in rank than the king: see second volume of the work.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Mr. Mariner has forgotten the exact words) that the *fala* (which is the name of this part of the ceremony) is coming, and that every body must get out of the way.

When they arrived at the back of the island, where any body may be present to see them, and, on this occasion, it was at the part called Mofooé, every one proceeded to make a small basket of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, holding about two quarts, and to fill it with sand: this being done, each of the men carried two upon a stick across the shoulder, one at each end—while the women only carried one, pressed, in general, against the left hip, or rather upon it, by the hand of the same side, and supported by the hand of the opposite side, brought backwards across the loins, which they consider the easiest mode for women to carry small burdens *; they then proceeded back the same way, and with the same ceremony, to the grave. By this time the grave above the vault was nearly filled with the earth lately dug out, the remaining small space being left to be filled up by the sand, which is always more than enough for this purpose, that the mount,

* This mode, which the women use, is called *fufa*; that which the men use, as just described, *ámo*; carrying in the hand by the side, *taggi-taggi*;—whilst the general term for any mode of carrying is *fooa*.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

different subjects. During these twenty days also, if any one pass the *fytoca*, he must not proceed in his ordinary careless way, swinging his arms, but with a slow pace, his head bowed down, and his hands clapsed before him, if he have no burden; and if he have, he must lower it, (from his shoulder for instance,) and carry it in his hands, or upon his bended arms:—but if he can conveniently do it, he will go a circuitous route, to avoid the grave. Here it may be observed, that, on all occasions, when a man with a burden passes a great chief, or the grave of a great chief, particularly if there be any one near to see him, he lowers his burden out of respect. Every day also, one or more approach, and sit before the grave for two or three hours, beating their faces with their fists; sometimes they bruise their heads with clubs, in which case they stand up*. These are the uniform and essential circumstances which always take place during this part of the ceremony of burying chiefs,—we now come to speak of those which were peculiar to this particular instance.

On the day after the deceased How was put

* Finow's chief widow, *Móonga Toobó*, every morning, attended by her women, cut the grass short before the grave with knives and sharp shells, sweeping away leaves and loose blades with brooms made of the mid rib of the cocoa-nut leaf: they also procured sweet-scented plants, principally the *jidle*, and planted them before the grave.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands of the teeth.

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing.

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner.

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech.

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food presented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food.

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die.

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind.

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound.

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly.

105. Puia a kaiaji: Sending a forager.

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get.

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*.

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indicates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

285. Toki tau ae vaka e:

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail.

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support.

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat.

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders.

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat.

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day.

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad. 892

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [285] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a hollow pretence. 539 765 276 574 431

507. Vai kauaki: Water (for) dying man.

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing. 539 763 [271]

WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu: The good will be wounded by the conduct of the bad; wrong-doing which involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment. 539 183

Taka nofo and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

509. Faifaimalie a nunua: Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai: The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto: A thief who wants to *touloto*. 539 482 685

Tauloto is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

133
291
501
342
482

[p·ää] [p·ä is blank]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions the death of the person. It is to render him propitious that the relations so often wound themselves, and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the language, I extended my acquaintance, and was the companion of the chiefs in most of their expeditions and excursions. They much respected me, and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair. When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe plantains headed the branches of my trees, of which I would cut twenty branches and send them as a present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

manner of doing it rendered the present doubly valuable, and no present could be more acceptable and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plantains more than all other fruits.

Though he was pleased with the presents sent him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and sent it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

---

* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

[Erratum: this should read His. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst.]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

was driven straight toward an island, upon which a landing was safely effected in the course of the night. On the following morning, according to custom, the crew assembled to partake of a funeral feast in memory of their lost comrade; but while the repast was still proceeding, to their great amazement the man himself suddenly appeared among them. Incredible as it may seem, he had actually kept himself afloat during the whole of the night, and being carried by the sea and wind in the track of the canoe, he had, as by a miracle, reached the same shore, in time to do what few beside himself have ever done—partake of his own burial feast!

On making the land, as well as in starting upon a voyage, the crew enliven the occasion by chanting, in full chorus, one or other of their pleasing, though monotonous, *Tauaalo*, or sea-songs. When within a short distance of the shore the anchor is dropped, or, failing the possession of an anchor, one of the crew dives overboard with a long pole in his hand, the end of which he either fixes into a crevice of the coral rock, or he bores it into the loose sand; and to it the canoe is moored. A busy scene then takes place. The first operation is that of landing the huge sail. For this purpose a number of the crew jump overboard; and the end of the sail having been laid upon the shoulders of the first man, each in succession takes a part in bearing it aloft above the surface of the water; and thus it is carried safely on shore. If no small canoe be at hand to convey the passengers to the land, each makes for the shore the best way that he can. The common people wade or swim, while the chiefs are carried either upon a broad plank or on the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

shoulders of some of the crew. In this way there are few scenes, in Tonguese life, so full of bustle and interest as the departure or arrival of a kalia from a *folau*, or voyage, of any considerable length. Every tongue on board is busy, while on shore numbers of excited relatives and friends are waiting to welcome the visitors, with the warmest expressions of love, and with marks of the most profuse hospitality.

Bearing all the foregoing particulars in remembrance, the reader will be able to realize somewhat of the amazing noise, and excitement, attending the arrival and debarcation of the royal fleet of fourteen canoes, all of which were covered from stem to stern with human beings. Instead, however, of the rude *tauaalo*, the people, on the different canoes, were chanting the spiritual songs of Sion and the high praises of Jehovah. The truth was, that the islands of Vavau, from whence the fleet had come, had recently been visited by a remarkable revival of religion, and numbers on board, including the king himself, had caught some of the sacred fire. The effect upon our minds was indescribable, and it was very evident that a deep impression was also made upon the crowds assembled on the beach. As the sail of each vessel was lowered, a stanza of some well-known hymn or chant was sung; and amidst this unwonted burst of religious feeling, the good king of the Friendly Islands stepped upon the shore. To our thought it was a far more noble reception than it would have been if accompanied by the loud salutes of cannon or the din of martial music. It also spoke volumes for the success of Missionary enterprise in the country.

As soon as possible we proceeded to have our

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

in a new and pleasing work,—that of receiving contributions in cocoa-nut oil from our Church members in Neiafu alone, in aid of the General Mission Funds. Each separate group of people advanced, bringing their contributions to the front of the Mission House, while singing some well-known hymn tune, or a plaintive native air to suitable words, expressive of Christian experience and joy. The sight was highly pleasing and suggestive. About one hundred and thirty gallons were received. This is a fair beginning: and, as all the places in Haafuluhao are engaged to do something, we expect to have a considerable quantity ready, for shipment to the colony, on the arrival of the "John Wesley." The few Englishmen residing here have also sent in contributions of several dollars; and their example has been followed by some of the chiefs, who have had the means of obtaining money from ships and traders.

Sunday, 14th.—Preached this morning at our large chapel in Neiafu; but, in consequence of an excruciating headache and feverishness, felt unequal to any great exertion. The weather extremely sultry and the heat intense. Having rested a little after service, I went to an adjacent village, to preach what may be called a Missionary Sermon. The object was to encourage the present movement among the natives for the support and extension of Missionary effort among themselves, and in surrounding islands in these seas. Our service continued in the midst of heavy rain and storm till after sunset. Being thoroughly exhausted, Noa Maui, one of my boatmen who had accompanied me, would not allow me to walk. Both of us were wet and weary, but he insisted upon carrying me all the way home on his broad shoulders. The Lord will reward him in "that day."

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

legs again); it is all right, knead. And at the same time he says to two men who are sitting facing him, one on either side of the bowl, *Tafoki kimoua, 'o 'ai ha'amo vai,* You two turn, and put in your water. These two then turn inwards toward the bowl, and call for water, merely uttering the one word *Vai.* Water is brought and these two keep dipping it into the bowl, whilst the mixer thoroughly kneads and mixes *kava* and water. When the *matapule* sees that almost enough water has been poured in he calls *Vai taha,* One water, and one man ceases pouring in the water. The other goes on till he sees that there is sufficient water in the bowl, and then, whilst still allowing a trickle to run in, he turns toward the *matapule,* who understands the hint, and says, *Taofi 'ae vai; 'ai mai 'ae fau,* Stop the water; put hither the strainer (a bunch of hibiscus, *fau,* fibre). The man who has mixed then strains out the solid particles of *kava* with the fibre. There are different sets of movements in straining the *kava,* the simplest being merely the actions necessary to putting in the fibre strainer, gathering up the scraps of *kava,* wringing and shaking them out. There are at least two sets of movements, the *faka-mui-fonua* and the *milo-lua,* which are much more elaborate, embracing a long series of graceful movements with hands and arms. The movements are, at least to some extent, determined by the kind of *kava,* i.e., size of the root, employed.

The time of straining the *kava* is the occasion for distributing the *fono,* food accompanying the *kava.* Motu'apuaka has looked out one or two baskets from the food presented, usually selecting an *umu hula,* basket of food borne on two poles on the shoulders of four bearers. When the time comes for distributing the *fono* this basket is brought forward, and a pig taken out and cut up. The liver, which is placed over the hole in the belly through which he has been disembowelled, is first taken and laid before the king. The pig is laid on its back, sideways to the king, with its head to the right hand of the carver, who sits facing the king, if the carver is right-handed, and to his left hand if he is left-handed. First the hind leg on the side nearer the king is cut off, then there is a cut round the middle on that same side, round the neck and foreleg, without removing the leg. The pig is then turned over with its belly toward the king. The other hind leg is cut off, and the hindquarters, and a cut made across the back. The head is

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kamoto, an important *matapule*, is the head of Fale Hakili, House of Hakili, said to be a Samoan house. He was brought to Hihifo when Ngata, the eponymous ancestor of the Ha'a Ngata, son of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua and a Samoan woman, was born.

Uhi was brought to Ata.

The Tu'i Kanokupolu has *matapule* in other parts besides Tongatabu; Kofe and Afeaki in Ha'apai, Fotu and Afu in Vava'u, Masila and Kaufana in Niua Fo'ou, Sika and Haufano in Niua Toputapu, Elili and Malala in Uvea (Wallis Island).

Different Sorts of Kava.

Different sizes of complete *kava* plants or portions of it, are brought and presented in different ways, and have distinguishing names.

1st. *Kava fua taha, kava* borne on the shoulder of one man. This is put down directly in front of the king, root toward him.

2nd. *Kava tofitofi*, divided *kava*, properly in bundles of ten. Several men bring this on their shoulders, and it is placed to the left of 1, roots toward the king.

3rd. *Kava no'o*, bound *kava*, small pieces tied in bundles of ten. Placed to the left of 2.

4th. *Kava ha'amo, kava* borne on a pole. A large root slung on a pole between two bearers, and placed to the right of 1.

5th. *Kava hula, kava* borne on two poles. This is still larger, and is slung on two poles carried by four bearers. It is placed to the right of 4.

6th. *Kava toho*, dragged *kava*, brought on a sledge of *fa*, pandanus wood, and placed to the right of 5. This seems to be placed upright on the sledge.

7th. *Kava fakatefisi, kava* in the *Tefisi* manner. This is the largest of all, and is brought lying on a sledge of *fa*, root forward, and the front of the root covered by plaited coconut leaf, called *fakatefisi*. (The same word is applied to a similar plait of coconut leaves in house-building. *Tefisi*. cf. Tahiti, Fiti, etc., is a place name in Tonga.)

All *kava* plants are placed before the king with the roots foremost. The specially elaborate movements of hands and arms in straining the *kava* belong properly to occasions when either of the two largest sorts of *kava* plant, or root,

59: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 009 Tonga 009

343
348
197
482
501

In the days of the large Tongan double canoes, hangars or canoe huts such as the one pictured here were used for storing, repairing or constructing the magnificent double canoes near the seashore. The particular canoe hut in this engraving, which was done in 1827 during the visit to Tonga of the famous French explorer, Dumont d'Urville, sheltered the war-canoe of the chief Palu in Mu'a, Tongatapu.

Ko e anga eni e fa'ahinga fale 'a'ia na'e tauhi ai e ngashi fu'u kalia taumu'a ua. Na'e hoko e ngashi fale ni ko ha tau'anga kalia, pea toe fai foki ai mo hono langa mo e monomono 'o e ngashi vaka ni. Ko he ta fakatata eni 'o e vaka 'o e 'eiki mai Mu'a ko Palu, 'a'ia na'e fai he ta'u 1827 lolotonga e 'a'ahi mai ki Tonga 'a e tangata folautahi Falanise ko ia ko Dumont d'Urville.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

went ashore again with a party of Marines and such of the Cattle as were weak, I remained there till sunset when every thing be[ing] settled to my satisfaction I returned on board leaving the Command on shore to Mr King. Tapa who was now become our fast friend and seemed to be the only active man about us, had a house brought on Mens shoulders a full quarter of a mile and placed by the one we occupied, in order to be near us as well in the night as day.[1]

SATURDAY 3rd. Began to Water, cut wood, and make hay for the catle. We at first began to cut wood abreast of the Ship it being there in the greatest plenty and the most convenient to get on board, but it proved to be of the Mancheneel kind, yeilding a juice of a Milky colour & of so corrosive a nature that it raised blisters on the Skin and injured the eys of such of the workmen as it happened to fly upon;[2] so that the wooding party were obliged to remove to the Cove where wee took off Water and kept guard, where the natives furnished us with other wood. Mr King and Mr Bailey began to observe equal altitudes of the sun in order to get the rate of the time keepers.[3] In the evening before the natives retired from our post Tapah harangued them for some time, we could only guess at the subject and judged he was telling them how to behave to us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the island to market as a considerable quantity was brought the next day.[4]

The Discoveries Small bower Cable parted, being cut in two by the rocks, this occasioned us to look at ours which were found unhurt.

[1] 'Omai is of great use to us, not only as an interpreter, but in keeping up a good understand[g] between us & the Natives, for they pay him great attention & listen to the stories he tells them about Britannee, which doubtless tends to keep up our consequence, too apt to be lessen'd by the familiarity of our intercourse; & from which we find out that the Venereal disorder has been left among them; so it is, that wherever we go, we spread an incurable distemper which nothing we can do can ever recompence.'—King.

[2] 'As our people were cutting wood they cut some Manganeel trees, the Sap of which flew into some of their Eyes which made them nearly blind for several days, their heads swelling very much but they all happily recovered their sight again as well as before.'—Bayly, 6 May. The machineel is a West Indian tree, with a caustic and poisonous milky sap. Anderson got the name of the Tongan tree as 'faitanoo'—*feta'anu*. It was common to India, China and Malaysia as well as Polynesia, and Linnaeus had already named it *Excoecaria agallocha*—a tree growing up to about 36 feet, with smooth oval leaves, and the white, adhesive, irritating latex that damaged and alarmed the sailors.—'[A B]otanist might discover some differences, but to appearance any[on]e not so well skilled would certainly have no doubt of its being [manch]ineel.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 290.

[3] 'The 2d Went on shore to look for a convenient place to observe in where I met Capt Cook who objected to my going on shore with my Inst[s] on account of the insufficiency of the Guard. 3d Received an invitation from Capt Cook to dine with him, when he proposed my going on Shore with my Astronom[l] Quad[t] only but not to carry my observatory, or at most to have only one between Mr King & me.—at last we settled it so as not to carry any observ[y] on Shore but to pack up the Quad[t] every evening & deposit them in an Indian house that Capt Cook had hired for his people.'—Bayly T.

[4] 'another Chief of some consequence whose name is Kapee who frequently made long harangues to the People and kept them in good order, he was call'd by our People Lord North.'—Edgar, 2 May.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

his curiosity in looking at the Cattle &c[a] on deck, I asked him down into the Cabbin, some of his attendants objected to this, saying if he went there people would walk over his head and this was never done.[1] I desired Omai to till them I would remove that objection by giving orders that no one should walk on that part of the deck which was over the Cabbin, but this probably would not have done if the cheif had not waved the ceremony and walked down with me without any more to do. Both he and his attendants took some pains to convince us he was King and not Feenough, for he soon perceived we had some doubts about it, and particularly Omai who was a good deal chagrined at finding there was a greater man than his friend Feenough, or Omai as he was now called for they had from the first chang'd names.[2] The Chief sat down with us to dinner, he eat but little and drank less. After dinner he asked Omai and me to accompany him ashore, Omai excused himself but I attended upon him in my own boat, having first presented him with such things as I knew would secure his friendship and what he most Valued and but little expected. As soon as we landed and before he went out of the boat he ordered two hogs to be brought and put into her; he was then carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand barrow, and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate traveling Chiefs. He desired me to sit by him, his attendance, which were not numerous, seated themselves in a semicircle before us without the house; an old woman sat behind or rather on one side the Cheif with a fan in her hand to fan away the flies that came near him. The several articles his people had got by truck aboard the Ships were now displayed before him, he looked over them all and enquired what they had given in exchange and seemed pleased with the bargins they had made. At length he ordered every thing to be returned except a glass bowl which he kept to himself. The persons who brought these things to him first squated themselves down before him, then laid down the things and rose up and retired, the same order

capable of receiving & comprehending subjects which we had considered above their faculties in their present state. . . .'—King, 28 May.

[1] Because of the quite supreme sacredness of the king's head, above all other heads. Any chief's head or father's head was of course *tapu*.

[2] 'Omai all this time was out of all temper with Poulobow, & want'd to perswade us, that he told lies in saying he was a greater man than his friend, it shoud be observ'd that these two had exchang'd names, it was therefore impossible Omai cou'd consent to be so degraded, & he examin'd the fat King very closely, he own'd that a woman a relation of his, call'd Chunee Takulla living at Va-vaoo was the head of all the Islands & to whom he bow'd; there was such an air of Openess & of good sence (as far as we could understand) that we all readily acquiest in his pretensions, in spight of Omai's endeavours to the contrary, who would not accompany the King & the Capt[n] on shore.'—King, 28 May.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

The 17th was the day fixed upon for Mariwaggy to give a grand *Haiva* or entertainment to which we were all invited. The dancing and Singing began about 11 o'clock and continued till three or four, there were two sets of above a hundred men and youths in each, of the first rank in the island. On each side of the Area where this was performed was a pile or heap of Sticks and yams, decorated with different sorts of small fish, these were Marriwaggies present to Captain Clerke and me. The yams were brought in in the Morning, two at a time, one at each end of a stick or pole about six feet long, these with the yams were piled up so as to appear to the most advantage and made about three fourths of the whole so that it was ha[r]d to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams to eat were of the most Value to us. As to the fish it might serve to please the sight but was very offensive to the Smell, as some of it had been kept two or three days for this occasion. Tues. 17

The Evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circular dance in which both men and women performed. Feenough on this occasion appeared compleatly dressed in English Cloth, with not less than ten or a dozen strings of beads about his neck and was a principal actor in this entertainment: even Mariwaggy himself at one time beat on the drum. These drums were such as I have before mentioned that is hollowed logs of Wood and Bamboos of different lengths. The Musicians to the dance are in front and round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the performance, the same is done in the circular dances, with this difference that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a nother, but this is done so insencibly that it is some time before it is compleat and very often not till the end of the dance. These dances vary perhaps much more than we were able to discover, however there appeared a sort of sameness throughout the whole, and so would, I apprehend the most of our Country dances to people as unacquainted with them as we were with theirs. The drawings which Mr Webber has made of these performances will give a very good idea of the order in which they range themselves but neither pen nor pencil can discribe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which as I have before observed are easy and gracefull and many of them extreemly so. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with far better order than could be expected in so large assembly, for at this time there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in our neighbourhood, that is within the Compass of a quarter of a mile. Amongst such a Multitude there must be a number of ill disposed

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 tinued to sing short sentances, while a number of other men were
796 coming in with Yams, each tied to the middle of a pole. In the mean
time the King and the Prince came and seated themselves on the
[123] area, and we were desired to sit down by them, to pull of our hats and
untie our hair that we might appear the more decent. The men with the
[482] yams being all come in, each pole with the yam was taken up between
two men who carried it over their shoulders; and after forming themselves into companies of ten or twelve they marched a cross the place with a quick pace each company headed by a man bearing a club or spear and guarded on the right by several others armed with different Weapons. A man carrying a live Pigeon on a pearch Closed the rear. Omai was desired to ask the Cheif where the yams were going
[644] to be carried to, he answered to be baked. This appeared probable
643 enough as we had been told that the occasion of this ceremony was
[264] him and his Son eating together, a thing that had never yet been done.[1] However as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we wanted two or three of us followed them contrary to his inclination. We found they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca,[2] which was hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled; here they were making up the yams in bundles but for what purpose could not learn, and as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness we left them and returned to the Cheif, who told us we might amuse our selves by walking about awhile for that nothing would be done for some time; the fear of loseing part of this Ceremony made us not
[784] be long absent. When we returned to the King he desired me to order
the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very
[688] soon be *Tabu*, who ever was found walking about would be *Mated*, that is killed or beat. He also informed us that we could not be present
651 at the Ceremony, but that we should be conducted to a place where
796 we might see every thing that passed; objection were made to our
123 dress, to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the breast with our hats off and hair untied. Omai offered to conform to

[651] the present Keeper of the Palace Records at Nuku'alofa, informs me that 'the Tu'i Tonga
[796] himself directed everything at the Inasi, no one knew exactly what would happen. There
were no fixed rules. . . . Stories are told about the Inasi, but there are no details for the
[643] actual ceremony itself and probably each Tu'i Tonga had his own arrangements for the
[644] performance.' Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 76–7) describes, from the memories of an aged informant of things seen in his youth, a ceremony, '(or perhaps entertainment)', that seems to have been one of the last traces of anciently; but clearly this was of the '*inasi* proper. For what we may call 'the young Prince '*inasi*', Cook and Anderson remain the only glasses in which we can see, darkly.

[1] Eating together would imply complete equality, as of two co-existent Tu'i Tonga.

[764] [2] The two things are not the same. The *fa'itoka* was the tomb structure, though it
[346] could also be a definite area about the mound where a chief's important retainers and distant relatives were buried (McKern, p. 31). The *marae* (Tongan *mala'e*) was in this context the open space for assembly in front of it.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

could sit down. The hands after performing this ceremony, are in some cases, rendered useless for a time, for untill they are washed they must not handle any kind of victuals; this in a Country like this, where water is not always at hand would seem to be attended with some ilconv[en]iency, but they are never without a succedanium, for a piece of any juicy plants of which there are always enough at hand, answers the purpose of water. When the hands are in this state they call it *Taboo rema*,[1] Taboo in general signifies forbiden and rema is hand.

When it is occasioned by paying obeisance to a great personage it is soon washed of; but in some other cases, it is of some continuance; we have frequently met with women that have been Taboo rema and have been fed by others, but never with a man. When the time is expired, she goes and washes in one of their baths which are dirty holes for the most part of brackesh water, she then comes to the King, make[s] her obeisance in the usual way, then takes his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders and most other parts of her body, he then embraces her first on the one shoulder and then on the other, after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know that it is always necessary to come to the King, Omai said it was, if so this may be one reason why he is for the most part traveling from island to island. I saw it done with him two or three times, and with Feenough once, but this was with one of his own Women and as Omai was not with me I could not ask the occasion.

Taboo as I have before observed is a word of an extensive signification; Human Sacrifices are called *Tangata Taboo*, and when any thing is forbid to be eaten, or made use of they say such a thing is Taboo; they tell us that if the King should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be Taboo and never more be inhabited by the owner;[2] so that where ever he travels there are houses for his reception; indeed none of them at no time make free with each others habitations. Old Toobough was at this time over the Taboo,[3] that is if Omai understood them right, he and his deputies inspected

[1] *tapu rima* is the modern form. But Cook must have heard the ambiguous Polynesian *r* sound in the word for 'hand'. He knew it from Tahiti and New Zealand.

[2] Or he was accompanied by a special portable house, *falefata*, carried around in sections. It will be remembered that the day Cook first met Paulaho, 27 May (p. 116 above), the king was 'carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand barrow' [another mark of his eminence], 'and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate travelling Chiefs'. The *arii raki* in Tahiti could put houses out of commission in the same way. Even if the Tu'i Tonga sat on a mat or rested on a piece of tapa, the article could not be again used by the owner but passed to the king.

[3] 'Over the Taboo': meaning that he decided on matters of *tapu*; doing this and other work, Tongan fashion, for his elder brother Maealiuaki, the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish any thing. It begins on one side as a narrow Causeway, which becoming gradually broader rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad and the whole length 74 paces. Joind to this is a sort of Circus or centre, whose diameter is thirty paces and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway, that joins it with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side to the Causeway another of the same sort descends but is not more than forty paces long, and partly fallen down. The whole is built of large Coral stones with earth on its surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs and from its decaying in several places seems of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly it seems to be of none now, and all that we could learn of it from the natives was that it belongd to Poulaho and is call'd E'tchee.[1]

The Captain brought Mareewagee and Too'bou on board to dinner and it was observ'd that these people, though of great rank, paid the usual mark of submission by bowing the head & touching the feet to a boy of twelve or fourteen[2] who is a son of Poulahos and is intended to succeed his father as king of the isles.

MONDAY 16th. The wind SE? Fresh breezes with cloudy weather till near the evening when it was more moderate and clearer. Our people employ'd as before and as we were at work in the hold examind some of the English bread which was found in very good condition. The trade for provisions not so brisk as formerly.

TUESDAY 17th. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather. In the morning when walking to the left of the tent we met several hundreds of the natives each carrying a pole with a small yam at both ends, and instead of these some had two or three bread fruit, which they carried to a large space that had been clear'd away before Mareewagees temporary hut, throwing them down and forming a large heap which they call'd Ha'paee[3] on each side. Several also brought a good many small fish stuck upon the points of the twigs of some wither'd branches which they carried in their hands, and laid down as an addition to the heaps. About eleven o clock they began in the same clear space to exhibit various dances which they call Mai,[4] the music consisting at first of seventy men as a Chorus, who sat down and amongst them three instruments which we call'd Drums

[1] An *ati* or 'rest mound'.
[2] The boy called Fatafehi Fuanunuiava.
[3] 'api'api, crowded, full. It has nothing to do with the name of the island group. A road crowded with men, or a basket full of many things, would be called 'Api-api', says Mariner. Cf. Clerke's confusion, p. 102, n. 1 above.
[4] me'e.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for
533 about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the Drums and Chorus again went off.

[482] Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to
534 carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus
292 to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with
287 a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentiond before) at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment cover'd with red feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well
535 that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion
293 chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing the club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily
535 as they entered. Their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth
292 tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage round the forehead, but they had only a very small piece of cloth made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any
535 incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear dress'd like the former then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, & standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 few people except about twenty who stood up in the end of a road
796 that opens into the Area, who kept constantly repeating a sentence in a mournfull tone which convey'd some Idea of distress and that they call'd for something. This which they call ooee[1] was continued about an hour and in the mean time many people came down the road they stood in; each of whom laid a Yam before them or a bunch of ripe Plantanes wrapp'd up while others brought baskets whose contents we did not see. They then mov'd a little farther and continued the cry some time when they advanc'd a little more & sat down, the Yams &c being mov'd along with them each time. The whole amounting to 250 then got up and pass'd in slow procession before Poulaho, who sat on the grass, some carying the yams &c and others nothing but every one had either a club or spear in his hand. They pass'd on to the single Fya'tocka on the mount mention'd before & laid the things down but appear'd to have some reluctance in letting us pass that way, though we could see no reason why the whole should seem to be made so mysterious.

[481] At present we saw there was an end to the Ceremony but were informd something else was to be done in the afternoon, and accordingly after dinner they told us that we must not walk in any of the roads except that which led down to the boat, or else if we were seen there was people who would knock us down with clubs which they said was also the case with themselves. We however transgress'd a little and really saw no person in the roads though many were looking through the fences, but at the large Fya'tocka near Poulahos house there was a great many men collected together, whom we shortly after saw to the number of six hundred walking by pairs in
[482] procession through the principal roads. Each pair had a long pole which they carried on the shoulders as if with a heavy burden, but they had only three bits of sticks or small yams about the thickness of a finger and six inches long tied to the under part. We were only
651 permitted to look at these through the fences, and as the mysterious-
796 ness seem'd to increase we urg'd Poulaho to be present at the cere-
123 mony, but he made several excuses by saying we must undress and
[784] go cloath'd like them and that we would not be able to sit long enough
[761] in a requisite posture, in either of which cases he alledg'd that if we transgress'd God would certainly kill him.

He however said that we should see everything that pass'd through a fence, and order'd some people to take us to an inclosure adjoining the Area of the Fyatocka where the Yams were carried to in the forenoon. The fence unluckily happen'd to be of that sort which is quite

[1] *ui*, to call out.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

neither punctur'd nor circumcis'd as all his subjects are,[1] and when he sits down it is always by himself, the people seating themselves before him at a distance in a circle or rather semicircle. No inferior chief, not even his brother, can eat in his presence though his servants sometimes do, but not before they have paid him the usual mark of obeisance and wash'd their hands. This last mark or touching the foot call'd Môė Môėa is frequently paid to the other chiefs, but on public occasions every one presses to salute the King in that way with great eagerness, while the others are scarcely notic'd, in so much that it sometimes becomes troublesome to him, & few enter a house where he is that neglect it, either at coming in or their departure. The women also frequently perform more than this simple method of salutation, for they not only touch the chin, cheek & crown of the head with his foot but strike it with great force against their breast. When he leaves the island the same respect is paid the son intended as his successor, and indeed at all other times, or if he leaves any particular article that belongs to him, as a piece of cloth or vessel of any kind, they are oblig'd to Moe Moea to it in his absence; but if we understood them properly this inanimate representative posesses a power quite supernatural, for they say if a person steals any thing and amongst others is put to the test by touching this he will certainly confess when it comes to his turn, or if not will afterwards certainly die for his impiety or presumption. H[e] is said to be the only person allow'd to practice Polygamy, and as a mark of regal distinction wears a bunch of flags or palm leaves as colours to his Canoe exactly in the manner of our Ensign, calld Goola.[2] Another mark of respect paid to his family is the inferior people being obligd to lower their Yams which they carry on a pole from their shoulder and, holding them in their hand, stand aside till those have pass'd by. We have also observ'd that food of all kinds both dressd and raw were brought him at all times of the day from different places, which he generally ordered to be distributed amongst his attendants, and that seemingly without any previous notice having been given; from whence it is probable each person knows the stated time he is to furnish him with a certain quantity of provision, especially as we never observ'd any kind of store near his house. In short, if not actually at least nominally he enjoys the privileges, power & respect of a very potent person—especially as

[1] Superincision rather than circumcision was the Tongan custom. The Tu'i Tonga was too sacred to be allowed to undergo pain in his own dominions, so that if he were to be tattooed it would have to be in some other island—e.g. Samoa.

[2] The word for flag or ensign is now *fuka*. One of the meanings of *kula*, or 'Coola', says Mariner, 'is a species of the paroquet'; so it is possible that the use of it Anderson gives was a metaphorical one.

[182 cont.]

648 small price in European goods, which he had before obtained by
721 barter. With his new cargo he returned to the ship, and always made
439 a considerable profit upon his bargain. As he never failed to visit
457 each canoe, our sailors called him a Custom-house officer. He was
175 lying close to the ship, bailing the water out of his canoe, when the guns were discharged not two yards over his head. Notwithstanding the extraordinary concussion at so short a distance, he never once looked up, but continued to bale, and afterwards to trade as if nothing had happened.

We had not long rejoined the captain and his party when the unlucky
648 adze was brought back, which had [183] been the occasion of so much
175 mischief. A middle-aged woman, who seemed to have great authority, had dispatched some of the people after it, and they returned at the same time a cartridge-box, and Mr. Patton's fowling-piece, which
[482] appeared to have been concealed under water. The wounded man was brought to us on a piece of wood carried by men. He seemed almost without sensation; and was set on the ground, whilst the natives gradually returned, and began to take courage. The women in particular, were very desirous of restoring the general tranquility, and their timid looks seemed to charge the behaviour of the strangers with cruelty. They seated themselves on a fine green turf, in a group of fifty or more together, and invited several of us to sit by them. Each of them had some shaddocks, which they broke in pieces, and distributed
142 to us with every mark of kindness and peace. Mr. Patton's friend
175 was one of the foremost, and indeed claimed the first rank among the beauties of those islands. Her nature was graceful, and her form exquisitely proportioned. Her features were more regular than any I

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a *sisi fale* in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the *sisi fale* are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, is said to represent an '*akau ha'ano*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23 ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure.

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

/162 cont./

824 178 [372] [752] [524] (old); serves to deep fire smoldering (old); as fuel (old). "Towel" (old), "toilet paper" (old) and to clean shoes (new): the fibers are also used to press out the grated coconut meat (old); the juice of green, warmed husks and the crumbly material between the fibers of old husks are used to treat wounds (old); used for making children's toys (sailboats) (new?).

[352] [285] [372] 5. The palm leaves (lou niu): used, as is, to sit on in the bush (old); used to make floor mats (takatapu) (old), fans (old), baskets (old), hats (for example, helemeti and tata faka-polis) (new); needed to make house walls and roofing (old); used in dry form as fuel (old).

[285] [289] [412] 6. The center rib of the leaflets (tu'a niu): used in plaiting baskets (old) and fans (old) and in making tapa stencils (see p. 328); used in making brooms (old).

/163/

[482] [372] 7. The leaf stems (tome): used as carrying sticks (see p. 250) (old); in dry state as fuel (old); also used to keep fire going (smoldering leaf stem wound with tapa) (old).

[287] [415] 8. The bast fiber at the base of the leaf stem (kaka'i niu): used to make tapa stencils (under side) (old) and as a bag for squeezing medicines and food (old).

[313] 9. The wood or the trunk (sino oe niu): used to make rafters and roof laths (old); used as posts and beams in houses (old?), as single posts on the plantations and for palisades (old).

[278] 10. The bark (kili oe niu): used to make medicines (for stomach pains) (old).

[227] [278] 11. The roots (aka oe niu): used to plait fish baskets (traps, finaki) (old) and to make cuttle fish hooks (tailpiece) (old); the juice of roots serves as medicine for abdominal pains and headaches (old).

it maybe designated as the most useful plant of the /163/ Tonga Islands.

245 Cook reports that he came across coconut palms on Tongatapu "in astonishing numbers." (427)

427. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237.

/166 cont./

244 [137] which were often brought to the Archipelago by Europeans, are planted in very small quantities on the Archipelago. The Tongans have scarcely been able to develop a liking for these useful plants, especially since they do not thrive as a result of the careless and neglectful way they are tended.

489 [361] Since the plantations are sometimes a considerable distance from the dwellings--in contrast to ancient Tongan times--the question of how to transport the harvest (which sometimes consists of many heavy 482 198 tubers) must be solved. The Tonga often still use old ways of carrying. To transport coconuts, for example, they split the outer skin of the husk like splints, then tie into a bundle four or five splints and carry home on their shoulders two of these bundles by means of a coconut leaf stem (to which the bundles are attached, front and back). Harvested tubers, bananas, etc., are most often carried in the traditional coconut-leaf baskets (kato lou niu) hastily plaited on the plantations, which the natives /167/ likewise carry by means of a coconut leaf stalk (resting on their shoulders and notched so that they can hook the basket on). The coconut leaf stalk is stuck through the basket itself. Often, the handles of the farming tools (for example, huo spade, huo lafa-lafa) are used as carrying sticks. The horse, which was brought 492 [136] to Tonga by Europeans, renders many natives important service as a [493] riding and pack animal, and some natives own two-wheel European carts [199] drawn by horses, which very much facilitate the transportation of even abundant harvests to the villages.

241 198 199 Seen as a whole, Tongan agriculture seems to us little changed. The traditional crops (supplemented by manioc) still form the basis of the food of the inhabitants. The significance of cultivated plants introduced by Europeans is no more than "supplementary." The tools and methods of cultivation are also basically the same, though improvement and additions to the tools, as well as a certain lapse in

/210 cont./

285 (198) important types of baskets plaited today in Tonga:

kato lou niu (kato tokonaki):

This is the simplest basket and the one most frequently made (462) and used in Tonga. Men as well as women plait it and use it to (482) transport plantation products, carry copra, etc. They make a kato (824) lou niu by cutting a leaf from the coconut palm, cutting it in half lengthwise, coarsely plaiting the pinnate leaflets of one half, making the whole into an oval and joining the ends of the pinnate leaflets in a braidlike weave (= bottom of the basket). The entire work is finished in about ten minutes. They use this basket only once, as a rule.

kato kai tunu:

(482) The kato kai tunu is used exclusively to carry food. Women like to use it to bring provisions to members of a work group. This (824) basket is make by the women from a section of a fresh coconut palm leaf. They plait together its pinnate leaflets (on both sides) /211/ and then cut (halve) the midrib (main rib) so that they have a folding basket. Two handles (made of two times two pinnate leaflets) are fastened to it.

'oa:

(482) This basket is used especially to carry fish, but also to transport fruit, mussels, sand, copra etc. Women usually plait the (462) 'oa, but men also do this work.

(824) Such baskets are similar in shape and in the way they are worked to kato lou niu (see above), but are plaited much finer out of young coconut palm leaves (work time approximately one-half to one hour) and are used for several months (by both sexes).

kato lou 'akau:

(482) The kato lou 'akau is used for carrying, and now and then also

/211 cont./

285 482 for safe-keeping, utensils of all kinds. The natives place in it tobacco, cigarette papers, small knives, oil bottles, combs, mirrors and diapers (=kato tanaki'anga me'a) and, in the larger ones (kata vala) articles of clothing; they also use it to shop at the storekeeper's, and in smaller baskets of this type children carry their schoolbooks, adults their bibles and hymn books. The kato lou 'akau is used [462] almost exclusively by women (and girls), and the women (and girls) are also the only ones who plait it.

285 This basket, which has a rectangular bottom and two loop handles, [824] is made of strips of pandanus leaves. It has an inner section plaited [531] of wider lou paongo strips, and around this is worked an outer section from a lou tofua strip that is equally wide at the bottom and narrower at the sides; (554)

554. For the method of making various pandanus-leaf strips see under "papa" and "lo taha," pp. 306/307.

these strips are sometimes of natural color, sometimes dyed black (see above) and plaited into "geometric" patterns.

kato tongi:

This is similar to the kato lou 'akau. The use of both baskets [824] is the same. The kato tongi is plaited of wider strips of lou paongo (and lou tofua) and differs in its long sides which are drawn out to two rather long points.

kato tu'a niu:

[482] The kato tu'a niu is used to transport fruit and food and to keep sewing gear and sewing work and other utensils. Like the kato lou'akau, it is an all-around receptacle used for many purposes. [462] Women and girls use and make it exclusively.

[824] This round basket with a handle (with or without a cover) is plaited from the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm

/211 cont./

285 and from narrow pandanus-leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see
824 above) in a spiral coil technique "Geometric" patterns are worked
531 in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored lou paongo strips.

/212/

kato lou kie:

482 This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species, (555)

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310.

some of which are dyed with European colors.

kato alu:

585 The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style (556)

556. See p. 114-116.

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

462 These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with
824 the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a
386 mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the
283 bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or
239 snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of
283 women's hair.
239

285 From the foregoing list of the most important types of baskets
179 we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and
178

100: Koch--510 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

342

5. Dwelling in ancient Tongan style (kaho walls)

764
482
291
292

6. Funeral procession: pallbearers in foreground

[End Plate 3]